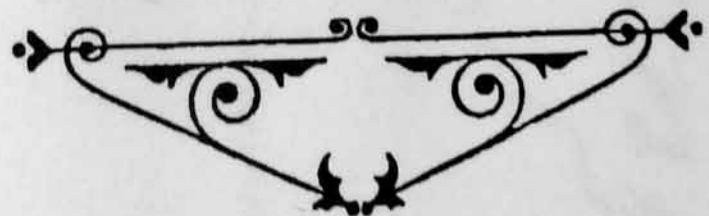


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DOCUMENTARY HISTORY
OF
DUNMORE'S WAR

1774

Compiled from the Draper Manuscripts in the
Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society
and published at the charge of the Wisconsin
Society of the Sons of the American Revolution

EDITED BY

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1974

1. *Leucania* *luteola* (Hufnagel) *luteola*
2. *Leucania* *luteola* (Hufnagel) *luteola*

THE CAMP AT GREENBRIER

[Col. William Fleming to his wife. 2221.]

UNION CAMP on the LEVELS G[REEN] B[RIER]²⁵ Septr. 4. 1774

MY DR. NANCY.—I have by Accident met with an Opportunity to the Court house, and am in hopes it will reach you. I reached this place on Monday last having delayed a day or two on purpose to fall in with some provision eschorts tho without effect. I found Col Charles Lewis here from Augusta there will be Six hundred or near it from that County. Colo Lewis came here the first Septr. and Companies have been coming in every day, since. a party Marches to morrow or next day, to fall somewhere on New River near Kellys place I imagine it will be the Augusta Volunteers. when I shall march will be uncertain. there are some Indian Spies attending us, and now and then firing on a stragling person they can have an advantage over, that is not too near the camp. as our motions will fully employ them I think the Inhabitants will be altogether safe whilst we are out, and would not have you give way to Apprehensions of dainger. Col Lewis informs me he has ordered three Men to Belmont,²⁶ if they behave well, with Allen & the other, they will

²⁵ The place was designated as Camp Union because the forces from the different counties were here united. The rendezvous chosen was known as "The Savannah" or "Big Levels of the Greenbrier," where an early settlement had been raided by Comstock in 1763. The fort at this place was again attacked in 1778, in revenge for Cornstalk's murder. The town of Lewisburg was established here by law in 1782.—ED.

²⁶ In 1768 Colonel Fleming removed to an estate in Montgomery (then Botetourt) County, which he named Belmont, where he resided the remainder of his life.—ED.

be sufficient if they are troublesome Capt Trigg who I understand commands the Compy. will Chainge them, should you be Apprehensive of dainger, or dismiss them altogether at your discretion. there has been no damage done here since we came out, but one man Slightly wounded, and one Shot through the Jaw these were country People near little Forts about 3 miles from this. there are not above two parties of Indians of three or four in each party on these fron-teers so that you must give no Attention to any Reports you hear that may Allarm You. I am thus perticular to remove any uneasiness you might be under. I have been in good health since I left home, and have met with nothing that gives me uneasiness, but the Absence of my horses. I imagine they have made home-wards from this place, and mention'd it that should they get home you need not be surprized. or if they are taken up, you may chance to hear of them, and get them. I have inclos'd a description of them as I advertized them in a Camp advertizement. I have nothing more perticular to write but Sentiments not proper to commit to paper, you know my warmest wishes are for your and my Lenny²⁷ happiness. I shall take Opportunities as they offer to Acquaint you with our Motions. Remember me to all My Friends. And believe me faithfully Yours whilst

W.M. FLEMING

P. S. I expect your brother here this week.²⁸

To Mrs. Fleming, Belmont. Recommended to the care of Mr Pat^k Lockheart Mercht. Botetourt

²⁷ Leonard Israel Fleming, eldest son of the writer, was born in June, 1764. In later life he became a pioneer of Kentucky.—ED

²⁸ Col. William Christian.—ED.

[Col. William Fleming to his wife. 2ZZ2.]

UNION CAMP Septr. 7. 1774

MY DEAREST NANCY—I have an Opportunity which I gladly embrace to let you hear that I am well, I wrote to you once since we reach'd this Place, which I imagine you have receiv'd we have had nothing happen'd new since. Your Brother & the Companies from Fincastle reach'd this place Yesterday Mr. Jones informd me, he cal'd, and that you were all well & that you were in good Spirits. this gave me great satisfaction. Trust in God and you need have no fear. I wrote you that my horses were Missing and that I imagined they were gone homewards. I have got them again so that I am as easy as a person can be that has left so near & dear conections behind him. but consider my Dr. Girl the Cause engaged in is a good one, and Our Seperation only for a small time. but I must stop writing on this subject. You surely know my reasons for it. I have heard of Sympathizing thoughts posessing the breasts of two Distant Lovers if there is anything in this fond Oppinion You must know what passes in my heart at present and not accuse this letter of coldness. more I need not say, nor would it be prudent to commit more to paper. Colo. Charles Lewis march'd Yesterday with Six hundred Men. Colo. A. Lewis and myself Marches on Monday Next, with four or five hundred, & your Brother in a few days after with two or three hundred more. My Lord Dunmore is near Pittsburg by this. he will have upwards of Seven hundred with him, that is 400 that march'd with Maj. McDonnald

& three hundred with himself. you have heard that McDonnal with a part of his men destroyed an Indian town Wakatomakee. &c: Remember me to Lenny tell him I would have sent him his horse, but I think he will stand the Journy bettar than any I can get here, however if I can get two I will send both him and Eurus in. and tell my boy to learn his book & write every day, that I may see what a fine boy he is when I return I have got the horses Appraised that if he should be lost tell him he will get Six pounds for him. Remember me affectionatly to Your Mammy who I hope is still with you and to Rosy, Prissy & Polly²⁹ If I have an Opportunity I will write before we march, if not I recommend You & the Family to the Protection & Guidance of Divine Providence. And I hope that All Sufficient power will grant us a happy meeting again in a little time. till which my Dr. Nancy I remain Your Affectt & Faithfull.

Wm. FLEMING

P. S. I have met with an Opportunity and have sent in our horses by Martin McFerrin,³⁰ and a Son of Saml. McRoberts, who will deliver them to Mr Lockheart.

Wm. F.

²⁹ Mrs. Fleming's nieces, daughters of Col. William Christian. Rose later married Judge Caleb Wallace; Mary (Polly), Col. Stephen Trigg; and Priscilla died young.—Ed.

³⁰ Martin McFerran was later (1788) colleague of Col. William Fleming at the Virginia convention to ratify the constitution of the United States, and voted against the adoption of that instrument.—Ed.

[Col. William Christian to Col. William Preston. 3QQ92.]³¹

CAMP UNION at the GREAT LEVELS. Septr. 7. 1774

DEAR SIR—I reached this place yesterday; a little after Colo Chas. Lewis marched with about 600 Augusta men. His business is to proceed as far as the mouth of Elk & there to make Canoes to take down the Flour. He took with him 500 P[ack] Horses carrying 54,000 pounds of Flour & 108 Beeves. Colo. Andrew Lewis talks that himself & Colo. Fleming will march next monday with a large body of men & 200 P Horses, there are about 450 men from Botetourt. He signifies that I must stay and bring up the Rear some days after him. What to do I dont know when our men hears they are to stay behind, I doubt they will be much dissatisfied. I intend to try to get our men all to be together which I find they earnestly wish for. Colo. Field marched this evening with about 35 & he expects 100 more will be here to morrow, He proposes joining C. Lewis He brought orders from Lord Dunmore to Colo. Lewis requiring him to be received with his men.

On the 30th. of August His Lordship was on his way at Cresops,³² about 80 miles from Winchester. He will have about 700 men with him, & Colo Fields thinks will be at Mouth of great Kanhawa some days after the 20th. I wish we may get [there] soon

³¹ Roosevelt in *Winning of the West*, i, p. 223, epitomizes this letter, which, however, he had only from a copy. The original is in the Draper MSS., and the date is September 7, not 9.—En.

³² The home of Col. Thomas Cresap, at the site of Oldtown, Maryland.—Ed.

enough. Colo. Lewis seems to think the number of men greatly exceeds his expectations, and that you may as well or had better let but about 100 more men follow me, that our County may have Compleat or some little more than 300 Rank [&] file, And that you could employ Any others that are raised to protect your Fronteers I think it was last Friday, one John McGuire was badly wounded by a party of Indians, a day or two after another man was wounded. A party of Indians was discovered in the Woods on Horseback, about Sunday but had their blankets over their heads & deceived our men or the foremost man who first discovered them cried "here they are boys." which alarmed them & gave them time to slip off the Horses and run away without being fired at. They were mounted on some of the Pack Horses & others that grazed near the Camp but tis supposed by the Signs that they had not discovered the Camp when they shott at McGuire, but tis believed they did since.

Colo. Fields says Majr McDonald with 400 men, being Ld. Dunmores advanced party below Fort Dunmore were boldly attacked by about 30 Indians. His men were marched in 3 Columns, himself at the head of the middle one, which was attacked, and about 4 men killed & 6 wounded. He ordered they right & left Columns to File of[f] & try to Surround the Enemy which could not be effected but they killed 3 or four Indians & took one, McDonald afterwards marched into a little Town and found his mens scalps hung up like Colours but the Town evacuated. Fields says the Shawnee with their near friends can meet us with about 1200 good men on short warning.

This Camp
Kanhawa & fr
miles.
I cannot th
ng your Me
Every body 1
And tis said
equal in goo
disciplined, c
march &c.
till we come
part.
May I rec
the men you
behind, pray
the rest at n
I would not
Ohio, and th
I believe fro
home if the
most. As t
Pack Horse
quick. It r
ned I think
try. Capt

Capt. He
for the must
with Col. Bo
be hard-pres
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a same cou

This Camp is about 140 miles from the Mouth of Kanawha & from that into the Town[s] 70, in all 210 miles.

I cannot think of any particular occurrence respecting your Men, since I left you to inform you of. Every body has done as well as could be expected. And tis said here that no Troops have yet appeared, equal in goodness to them. And if I may add none disciplined, or equal to them, as to the order of their march &c. Henry Paullen^{ss} "says, he bore the Crack till we come but now he gives up" So much for that part.

May I request you to hurry on Majr. Robertson & the men you choose to send after, if I am to be left behind, pray let us go on together, & try to overtake the rest at mouth of Elk or at the Mouth of the river. I would not for all I am worth be behind crossing the Ohio, and that we should miss lending our Assistance. I believe from my heart that our men would all turn home if they thought they could not be with the foremost. As the men you send will have a good many Pack Horses & but little Flour I hope they will come quick. It may be 70 miles to your house, & from the road I think they may easily march in here the fourth day. Capt Russell marched 25 miles one day, there

^{ss}Capt. Henry Pauling led a company of Botetourt troops, for the muster-roll of which, see *post*. In 1777 he went out with Col. Bowman at the head of a militia company, to succor the hard-pressed settlers of Kentucky, especially those at St. Asaph's. Later he settled in Kentucky, was a member from Lincoln County to the convention ratifying the United States Constitution. Like most others from his section, he was against that instrument. The next year, he represented the same county in the Virginia assembly.—*Ed.*

is no bad road but Rich creek & Toms Creek moun-tains.

Jno Taylor Went off with Ch. Lewis with a Brigade of horses he was well. There was no [Beeves] left here when I came I fear beef will be Scarce tho Mc [MS. torn] he expects agrea [MS. torn] soon. Matthews is to have brought out 160000 weight 54 is gone 26 is here & the rest on the way. The 400 horses that are started, will return as fast as they can. Tis said that about 800 horses are employed. I ob-served a letter from Matthews directed to Messrs Ingles, Simm[s], Hamilton, & Hill Companys giving orders what to do. Ingles goes on & Barnes is to assist him.

I hope to see Mr. Floyd with Majr. Robertson if Johny has no Tent there is room in mine. He need not provide one.

I will inclose you a return & am Dear Sir Your Most Humble Servt.

Wm CHRISTIAN

*A Return of the Militia from Fincastle Septemr. 7.
1774. Camp Union*

Field Officers	Companies	Rank and File										Occurrences				
		Captains	Lieuts.	Ensigns	Serjts	Drums	Fifes	fit for duty	Sick	Bawmen	P. H. men & drivers	Total	Chaplain	Armourer	Butcher	
Capt. Crockett	1 1 1 3					40	2	1	5	48						{ 1 sick near Mr Thompsons 1 at Stewarts fort.
Capt. Herbert	1 1 3					38	2			40						{ the sick at Rich creek
Capt. Russell	1 1 1 2 1					42				42						
Capt. Shelbey	1 1 1 3 1					37	2			39						{ 1 sick at Mr Thompsons 1 in Camp
Capt. Campbell	1 1 3					40	1			41						{ the sick man at Mr Thompsons
Capt. Harrod	1 1 2					22				22	1	1	2			
1	6 5 4 16 2					219	7	1	5	232	1	1	2			
1																

WILLIAM CHRISTIAN

To Col. William Preston, Fincastle By Allsup

to obtain it. The Messenger is waiting to convey this to Capt. Campbells, to be forwarded; therefore hope you'll excuse haste: after Tendering my Compliments to your Lady:

Subscribe my selfe Dr. Colo. your Real Friend, and most Obedt. Humb. Servt.

W. RUSSELL.

May the 7th. 1774.

NEWS OF THE SURVEYORS

[Letter of Alexander Spottswood Dandridge to Col. William Preston. 3QQ26.]

May ye 15th. 1774

Dr SIR—I make no doubt but you'll be much Surprised at the News of my Speedy return from the Ohio,³⁶ the cause of which was the meeting of one Lawrence Darnold an experienced woodsman of good reputation & extreemly well acquainted with the Lands upon the Ohio him I thought a proper person to entrust the locating of my Lands to & having so done & being mindfull of my business in Hanover, with three other Gentlemen from Frederick County I parted with my Company which had increased to the Number of thirty three on the twenty seventh day of April on the little Giandott about thirty miles below the mouth of New River³⁷ & made the best of my way home. Nothing worth mentioning happened to us

³⁶ See letter of Floyd, *ante*, p. 7.—ED.

³⁷ The Kanawha was frequently called New River, from its principal tributary.—ED.

upon our Journey to the Ohio saving overtaking Hancock Taylor & Seven others about 20 miles from the New River where we dug canoes and went together in the greatest friendship & harmony^{ss} I left the whole company under great apprehensions of danger from the Indians, for the causes of which Apprehensions I [refer you] to Mr Floyd's letter of which I was the beare[r] According to your instructions Mr Floyd Surveyed for Colo. Washington 2000 Acres of Land & Sent a platt of the Same in a letter to you by Thos. Hogg who after receiving the same upon the Ohio has with two other men never been heard of. I am Sorry it is not at this time in my power to wait for your return & in person give you an Account of our adventures but expect to be this way again in a Short time on my return to Hanover. in the meanwhile please to enter for me 1000 acres of Land upon Lawrence's Creek abt. five miles from the Ohio beginning at a large lime stone Spring & thence down the Said Creek I had almost forgot to inform you that it is the desire of the Surveyors that you'd Send for their horses from Green Briar they are at the house of Jas. Davis on Muddy Creek in the Care of Jas. Campbell who expects 20/ for taken care of them. I'll reserve

^{ss}Hancock Taylor was brother of Richard, a pioneer settler of Kentucky, father of the president Zachary Taylor. In 1769 he accompanied a party of explorers to the Falls of the Ohio, and thence they floated to New Orleans, returning by sea. In 1773 Taylor surveyed in Kentucky, accompanying the McAfees and Captain Bullitt. He was the leader of one division of the surveying party sent out in the spring of 1774 by Colonel Preston, but was shot by the Indians and died upon Taylor's Fork of Silver Creek, Madison County.—ED.

DANDRIDGE³⁹

[Extract from a letter of Col. William Preston to Col. George Washington, dated Fincastle, May 27th, 1774 15S79.]

Agreeable to my promise, I directed Mr. Floyd, an assistant to survey your land on Cole river⁴⁰ on his way to the Ohio, which he did, & in a few days afterwards sent me the plat by Mr. Thomas Hogg: Mr. Spotswood Dandridge, who left the surveyors on the Ohio after Hogg parted with them, wrote me that Mr. Hogg and two other men with him had never since been heard of. I have had no opportunity of writing to Mr. Floyd since; though I suppose he will send me the courses by the first person that comes up, & so I shall make out the certificate & send it down. This I directed him to do when we parted to prevent accidents. But I am really afraid the Indians will

³⁹ Alexander Spottswood, son of Nathaniel West Dandridge, grandson of the governor of Virginia who first crossed the Blue Ridge (1714), and a near relative of Martha Dandridge Washington, was born Aug. 1, 1753, in Hanover County, Virginia. He received the best education possible at the time, and was a young man of great promise and popularity. He went out to Kentucky with Henderson in 1775, when the Transylvania Company made the Boonesborough settlement. On the outbreak of the Revolution he joined the colonial army and was aide-de-camp to Washington. About 1780, he married the daughter of Col. Adam Stephen in Jefferson County, Va., where he died in 1785.—ED.

⁴⁰ Coal River is a western tributary of the Kanawha, flowing into the latter a few miles below Charleston.—ED.

[Extract of a letter from Fort Pitt, dated June 12, 1774.⁶¹
2JJ, book 3, p. 60.]

We have great reason to be no longer in suspense concerning a war with the Indians, as they have already been guilty of several massacres; on Saturday, the 4th inst. were killed & scalped by them one Benjamin Spear, his wife & six children, on Dunkard Creek;⁶² and the Monday following one Henry Wall, one Keener, near the same place;⁶³ and one Procter, near Grave Creek; there was also one Campbell, lately from Lancaster county, killed & scalped at New Comer's-Town by the Mingoes.⁶⁴

⁶¹ This was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 22, 1774.—ED.

⁶² For a further account of this attack, see *Amer. Archives*, 4th series, i, p. 405. Dunkard Creek is a branch of Monongahela River, in Greene County, Pa., so named because of its early settlers, who were of the German sect of that name. See Thwaites, *Withers's Border Warfare*, pp. 75-77.—ED.

⁶³ Muddy Creek is in Pennsylvania, a Western tributary of Monongahela in the present Greene (then part of Westmoreland) County. See the *Washington-Crawford Letters*, p. 93. This is to be distinguished from the Muddy Creek of Greenbrier. The leader of the party ravaging in Pennsylvania was undoubtedly the chief Logan, who desisted only when he had taken thirteen scalps, supposed to equal the number of Indians killed at Yellow Creek.—ED.

⁶⁴ Grave Creek, in Marshall County, West Va., with the town of Moundsville at its mouth, takes its name from the "Big Grave"—a pre-historic Indian mound in the vicinity. Newcomerstown, or Gekelempuechunk, was the capital of the Delaware tribe on the Muskingum. It was north of Tuscarawas Creek, a short distance from the present Ohio town of that name. In 1771, when visited by the Moravian missionary Zeisberger, it contained a hundred log houses;

[Extract from a letter dated Pittsburg, June 13, 1774.
2JJ61.]⁶⁵

This morning we received certain accounts from a place called Ten Mile Creek, above Red Stone, that the Indians killed & scalped one Francis McClure, who formerly lived at Weilin [Wheeling] Creek, down the river, & shot one Samuel Kinkade through the arm, but he got away.⁶⁶

FRONTIER MOVEMENTS

[Synopsis of letter of Lord Dunmore to Capt. John Connolly, in *Amer. Archives*, 4th series, i, p. 473.]

WILLIAMSBURG, June 20, 1774.

Entirely approves of plan of building fort at Wheeling, and of marching to Shawnee towns, if he has sufficient force. Hopes he will prevail on well-affected Delawares and Mingo to remove from the Shawnee. Necessary for Connolly to remain at Fort Dunmore, Capt. William Crawford, a prudent, resolute officer,

but in 1775 the majority of its inhabitants had removed to the present site of Coshocton.

For another mention of these attacks, see *Penna. Archives*, iv, p. 513.—ED.

⁶⁵ This was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 29, 1774.—ED.

⁶⁶ This was a militia company sent out in pursuit of Lo-

will leave a line at Mr Thompsons—Upon second thought I Suppose you need not be at the trouble, as I will send a man to your house on Saturday or Sunday, for Your Orders I reckon the longer the better as you may Get some intelligence from some part of the Frontiers. If you would please to have the orders ready the messenger could return the same day I think it best for me not to start until monday morning early & then evory thing will be before me. I can go to Davis or A. Campbells⁹⁴ that night, as I wont have any luggage myself.

I am Sir Your hble Servant

Wm CHRISTIAN.

ATTACK ON GREENBRIER

[Col. William Christian to Capt. Joseph Cloyd. 3QQ49]

SIR—News is this minute come that Capt Dickinson⁹⁵ has had a battle, with the Indians at green Bryer, that one man is killed & two wounded the rest fled to a house where they are besieged. As that is the case I make no doubt but more parties are out. I therefore think it your indispensable duty to send a messenger to Walkers Creek, blue Stone⁹⁶ &c. to warn the people

⁹⁴ Davis's Bottom was on the Middle Fork of Holston, above Royal Oak, the home of Arthur Campbell.—Ed.

⁹⁵ For Captain Dickinson, who was wounded at Point Pleasant, see *post*. A further account of this battle is in *Amer. Archives*, 4th series, i, p. 536.—Ed.

⁹⁶ Walker's Creek and Blue Stone River are western tributaries of New River. The former, in Giles County, Va., was named for Dr. Thomas Walker, probably on his western trip in 1751.

of their danger, that they may gather together for a few days, & be on their guard untill we hear more. indeed I think the high waters may have hindered them from making more attacks at the same time, as soon as they fall we may expect it.

You are also this day to warn all the men to whom you gave notice at your muster to be ready to meet you at Mr. Thompsons tomorrow morning—there to receive further orders—entreat your men to take each a horse, all the ammunition & provisions they possibly can to the place as it is uncertain how long they may be wanted.

I expect Colo. Preston will pass there tomorrow on his way home & then you will know what more to do. You will no doubt advise all the people to agree upon proper places to Erect Forts & to proceed to work immediately—& by no means to think of moving off

I am yr. hble Servt.

Wm CHRISTIAN

June 29. 1774

To Capt Joseph Cloyd

CHEROKEE BEGIN HOSTILITIES

[Maj. Arthur Campbell to Col. William Preston. 3QQ50.]

DEAR SIR—The hour that I so much dreaded (as to the peace of this Country) is now I am apprehensive

in 1748. Blue Stone River, in Mercer County, West Va., is supposed to have first been visited by Christopher Gist in 1751. The settlements upon this stream were recent and much exposed.—ED.

[Receipt of Capt. William Crawford to Capt. William Harrod.
4NN9.]

August the 2d. 1774

Received of Capt. Wm. Herrad Twenty Five Beeves
for the use of the militia at Fort Fincastle I say Recd.
Wm. CRAWFORD⁴⁸

ATTACKS ON GREENBRIER; DEFENSE OF NEW RIVER

[Maj. James Robertson to Col. William Preston. 3QQ69.]

CULBERSONS 1st August 1774

SIR—About three hours agoe John Draper Came here with thirteen men, which makes our Number 33 or thereabouts this minet I got flying news of the Indians Shooting at one of Arbuckles Centery's on muddy Creek.⁴⁹ they Say Likewise that they Attacted

⁴⁸ William Crawford was born about 1722, in Virginia, whence he removed to the frontier in early manhood. He learned surveying from Washington, and in 1755 was an ensign of Virginia troops serving throughout the French and Indian War and that of Pontiac (1763). In 1765 he removed to the Youghiogheny and was one of the earliest and most influential settlers, accompanying Washington down the Ohio in 1770. In Lord Dunmore's War, he made three expeditions toward the Indian territory, in the second of which he built Fort Fincastle. He was major in Dunmore's division, and commanded a side expedition which destroyed the Mingo towns—see *post*. He was colonel of a Virginia regiment in the Revolution, and in 1782 led an expedition against the Wyandot at Sandusky, when he was captured, and tortured to death at the stake. See Butterfield, *Expedition against Sandusky* (Cincinnati, 1873).—ED.

⁴⁹ Capt. Matthew Arbuckle was one of the most experienced woodsmen and Indian fighters of his time. He was born about 1742, and removed while young to the upper James. In 1765, with one or two companions, he explored the Kanawha

one Kelley's yesterday about half a mile from that Fort where they Tomhak'd Kelley and Cut him Vastly, but the men from the fort heard the Noise and Ran to their Assistance and drove the Indans. off before they Either Kill'd or Sculp'd Kelley they took his Daughter Prisoner its Said;⁵⁰ but the Certainty of any of the newes I Canot Assert I am in hopes they will be able to defend themselves at no great Risque there, as John Stewart has A Company they tell me in the Levils of Greenbrier not more then Six miles from Arbuckles fort⁵¹ I keep the Scouts out Continualy and has Seen no fresh Signs this four or five days. I

Valley to the Ohio—the first white man to pass this way except as an Indian prisoner. On this campaign he was chosen captain of a company of scouts, and as guide for Lewis's division of the army. In 1776 he was sent to command Fort Randolph, erected at the mouth of the Kanawha, and defended this important frontier post for three years, being in charge when Cornstalk was killed. He was an able and efficient officer, much trusted by General Hand, the head of the division at Fort Pitt. Captain Arbuckle was killed on his way home from Staunton to Greenbrier (1781), by a falling tree in a great storm. His son, of the same name, was a general in the regular army.—ED.

⁵⁰ For full details of this disaster, see Stuart's "Narrative," in *Virginia Historical Collections*, i, pp. 37-68; and *Magazine of American History*, i, pp. 668, 740. The captive was Kelly's niece.—ED.

⁵¹ Capt. John Stuart (his autograph signature reads at different times both Stuart and Stewart) was born in Scotland, 1749, and twenty years later made the first settlement on Greenbrier, where the town of Frankfort now is. He had a private fort on his own estate, called Fort Spring. In 1770 he was a magistrate of Botetourt County, and later first clerk of Greenbrier. He commanded a company under Col. Charles Lewis for the Point Pleasant campaign, and in his old age (1820) wrote a narrative thereof (see preceding note). He died at his Greenbrier home in 1823.

The "Levils of Greenbrier" was the present site of Lewis-Camp Union stood,

Set out tomorrow with about Twenty men and will take a Trip Nigh to the Glades, and Return as Quick as possible again Least there Should be use for us nearer Our fort, as John Draper Came down Yesterday he Surely Seen the Tracks of five or Six Indians he says on Wolf Creek,⁵² and they made in towards the Settlement, it would be well for the people to be on their Guard or Indeed some party sent that way to Range about. as to my Going in Sir its Impossible Unless we Give up this place Intirely for the men Swairs the minet I set off they Will Start Likewise. and Indeed I cannot leave the Compy. as I See, for there is no one that Can keep any Accts. or do any thing towards Geting Provisions for the Compy. Which is Realy Vastly hard to get I was in hopes there would been some flower fr[om] M. Thomsons for us before now the Place must Undoubtedly Bre[ak] up Unless we Get Some Amunition there has not been three Loads of the Powder that I got from you made use of but that Quaintyty to Pretend to keep A Fort and Range About in Such A Place is Equail almost to none. I Should be Sorry to Urge but there is no Possibility of Defending our Selves or doing any good Without Amunition. we have finished our fort and I think not a dispiseable one. I have been about Raiseing a House for to hold Provisions and Amunition but I am Afraid the Place wont be Over Stocked with Either, in haste, as the one Cant be Possibley got, and the Other People Seems Easey About furnishing us with. Sir I Abide by Your Directions and Waits for any Orders from you which

⁵² Wolf Creek is a southwestern affluent of New River.—ED.

Shall be Obey'd with as much Exactness as in my power Lys Sir I heartly wish you & your Famyley Safety and am your Obdt. Servant

JAMES ROBERTSON

N. B. I am afraid Ill be far behinn about my Comy. for the Shany Expdn. as I am confined here

Holton Monoy	Jos. Turner
Wm. Neal	Jno. Corder
Jno. Alsup	Michael Stump
Wm. Day	Ab Mounts
Alex ^r . Mares	Jno. Denton
Peter Dingus	Jos. Mares
John Smith	Jas. Adair
Thos. Shannon	Jno. Shannon

10
14
15
16

To Col. William Preston To be forwarded by Mr. Wm. Thompson In Haste

OFFICERS FOR HOLSTON

[Col. William Preston to Capt. Evan Shelby. 5XX4.]

DEAR SIR—I wrote to you last night begging your acceptance of a Commission in our Militia. Since which time Capt. Bledsoe⁵³ Resigned alleging he did

⁵³ Anthony Bledsoe was born in Culpeper County in 1733. In early life he left home and pushed to the frontier, being a merchant at Fort Chiswell as early as 1766. He removed in 1774 to the neighborhood of the Shelbys. He was active in all public affairs, being magistrate of Botetourt, Fincastle, and Washington counties. In 1777-78 he was member of the assembly for Washington. In 1784 he removed to Cumberland, and settled at Bledsoe's Lick, immediately becoming prominent in that country, representing his district in the North Carolina assembly from 1785 until killed either by Indians or white enemies (1788). In military affairs Bledsoe was most useful. He went on the Point Pleasant campaign (see letters, post) as commissary for Christian's division, with rank of major. In 1776 he held high rank

[2ZZ40.]

*Capt Stewart's [Company]*⁸⁷

[MS. torn.]			
Charles O Haara			17
James Donaley	Sergt.		18
Skid'r Harriman			19
Daniel Workman	1	John Crain	
Samuel Williams	2	Wm. Dyer	
Wm. O Harra	3	Edw. Smith	
Robert O Harra	4	[MS. torn.]	
James Pauley	5	John Harris	
James Clarke	6	Joseph Current	21
John Pauley*	7	Wm. Clindining	22
Archbl. McDowell	8	Spencer Cooper	23
Wm. Hogan	9	Dan'l. Taylor	24
Andw. Gardner	10	Joseph Day On Comd.	25
Qeavy Lockhart	11	Jacob Lockhart Do	26
Samuel Sulivan	12	George Clinding	27
Thomas Fargison	13	John Burke	28
John McCandless	14	Charles Keeneson	29
Thomas Gillespy*	15	Wm. Ewing	30
Henry Lawrance*	16	John Doherty	31
		John McNeal	32
		Joseph Campbell	33
		gon back	34
		2 on Comd.	

[2ZZ.39.]

*A List of Capt Robert McClenachans Company of
Volenteers from Botetourt³⁸*

1 William McCoy Lieutenant **4** William Craig Sargent
2 Mathew Breken Ensine **5** Samuel Clark Sargent
3 Thomas Williams Sargant **6** William Jones Drum

⁸⁷ The following list of Capt. John Stuart's [Stewart's] company is in his own handwriting. The upper part of the MS. is mutilated, so that the names of the subordinate officers are missing. It is believed that this is the only extant list of the company. The stars are part of the original document, and their purport does not appear. For Capt. John Stuart, of Greenbrier, see p. 104, note 151, *ante*.—ED.

³⁸ This list is undated; but from the context we judge that it was drafted about Sept. 10, with those of other Botetourt companies. For Capt. Robert McClenachan, and his two subordinate officers, William McCoy and Matthew Bracken, see respectively, pp. 160, note 10; 349, note 70; 120, note 78.—ED.

MUSTER ROLLS

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7	John Harmon	21	Edward Baret
8	James Kinkaid	22	John Williams
9	Gorge Kinkaid	23	Richard Williams
10	David Cutlip	24	James Burrens
11	James Morrow Senior	25	John Patten
12	James Morrow	26	Thomas Ellias
13	James Gilkeson	27	Charles Howard
14	Even Evens	28	James Guffy
15	William Stewart	29	Thomas Cooper
16	Edward Thomas	30	William McCaslen
17	Patrick Constantine	31	John Cunningham
18	William Custer	32	Francis Boogs
19	Lewis Homes	33	John Vaun
20	William Huchisen		

[Captain Pauling's list of Botetourt troops. 2ZZ41.]²²

officers 3

Capt. Henry Paulling
Lieutt. Edward Gouldman
Ensign Samuel Baker

Sarjts 3

Sargt. Obediah H. Trent
Sargt. Robert Findley
Sargt. James Woods
Robert Watkins
Philip Hanee
James Dehority
William Thompson
William Holley
Joel Doss
William Ray
Dangerfield Harmon
Stephen Holston
James Wilson
Dudley Callaway Canoe
David Bellew Do
Andrew Rodgers
Robert Ferrill
Andrew Harrisson
George Simmerman
Thomas Wilson
Alexander Culwell on
Comd
William Gilliss

1	Edward Ross	20
2	Matthew Ratliff	21
3	William Glass	22
4	John Fitzhugh	23
5	William Canaday	23
6	John Clerk	24
7	John Frazer	25
8	George Davis	26
9	Thomas Mecrary	27
10	Richd. Rollens	28
11	Mical Luney	29
12	John Gibson	30
13	Charles Ellisson	31
14	John Aggnue	32
15	James Dunowho	33
16	Thomas Reid	34
17	Joseph Whitticor	35
18	Isham Fienquay Canoe	36
19	David Condon Do	37
	Richard Lemaster	38
	James King	39
	John Hutson	40
	William Micalister	41
	Jeremiah Jenkins	42
	Edward Carther	43
	Martain Baker	44
	James Lyn	45
	4 Canoemen	46
	1 Comd.	

²² For Capt. Henry Pauling see p. 187, note 33, ante.—ED.

RETURNS OF THE TROOPS

*A Return of the Bottetourt Troops in Camp Septr. 11th
1774 Under the Command of Collo. Andrew
Lewis. Union Camp.*

Companies	Field Offrs				Com-misid offrs	Staff Do	Non Com: Do	Rank and File.								Total		
	Captns	Leutns	Ensigs	Agetent				Sergts	fifes	Drums	fit for duty	Cadrets	Capt.	Sick	on Comd	pack H. Men		
Capt Love	1	1	1	1	1			5	.	.	26	3	1	1	.	2	5	38
Capt Buford	1	1	1	.	.			4	.	.	42	1	.	.	.	.	.	43
Capt Lewis	1	1	1	.	.			5	1	1	61	.	.	.	.	.	.	61
Capt Murrey	1	2	1	.	.			5	.	.	61	.	.	5	2	.	.	68
Capt Paulin	1	1	1	.	.			3	1	1	51	.	.	2	.	.	.	53
Cap McClennachan	1	1	1	.	.			4	.	1	25	.	.	7	8	1	.	41
Cap Stewart	6	7	6	1	1	26	2	3	266		1	15	10	3	5	304		

WM FLEMING

[Order of March]

4 Scouts Capt. Lewis Comy. to March in frunt he is to keep 4 a head as scouts. those followed by a Sargent & 12. who is to keep out a flanker on each side—then his Compy.

WAR

Sergt Magr Quarter master s'gt included in Sergts.
 2 with the advanced party 1 Sergt & 5 R & F unfit for duty
 The drum'r & 2 R & F unfit for duty

Sick	327	Sergts					
On Comd	15	Fifers					26
	10	Drs					2
							3
	342						
Effective	266	5 Capts					309
Volunteer	4	Lieuts					5
Packhorse men	3	Ensgn					7
Batmen	5						6
	278						

[2ZZ72.]

[MS. torn] Union on the G[reat Levels] 1774⁴¹

[Comp]anies.	Lieut	Ensg	Sergt	Fife	Drum	Rank & file
Colo C : Lewis						
Capt M. Dowell	2	1	4	.	.	52
Capt McClen[nechan]	2	1	5	1	1	71
C " Moffat	2	1	4	.	.	50
C " Dickinson	1	1	3	.	.	22
C " Mathews	2	1	2	1	1	60
C " Wilson	1	1	2	.	.	27
C " Harrison	1	1	4	.	.	51
C " Haynes ⁴²	1	1	4	.	.	48
C " Skidmore	1	1	3	.	.	32
C " Lockridge	1		3	.	.	26
C " Lewis	2	1	3	1	1	70
Capt Gilmore ⁴²	1	1	.	.	.	31
Capt Nawl	1	1	3	.	.	[48]
	13					
	18	12	40	3		[588]

⁴¹ The MS. of this return is damaged, but enough exists to show that it is a return of the number of Augusta County troops, made during the encampment at Camp Union—therefore before Sept. 12. Charles Lewis marched with the van Sept. 6, but it is not probable that the entire Augusta contingent accompanied him. The number for Captain Nalle's company is supplied from his muster-roll.—ED.

⁴² Capt. Joseph Haynes, and probably Capt. James Gilmore.

[2ZZ72.]

[MS. torn] Union on the G[reat Levels] 1774⁴¹

[Comp]anies.	Lieut	Hns	Sergt	Fife	Drum	Ranke file
Col ^o C: Lewis	2	1	4	.	.	52
Capt M. Dowell	2	1	5	1	1	71
Capt McClen[nechan]	2	1	4	.	.	50
C " Moffat	1	1	3	.	.	22
C " Dickinson	2	1	2	1	1	60
C " Mathews	1	1	2	.	.	27
C " Wilson	1	1	4	.	.	51
C " Harrison	1	1	4	.	.	48
C " Haynes ⁴²	1	1	3	.	.	32
C " Skidmore	1	1	3	.	.	26
C " Lockridge	1	1	3	1	1	70
C " Lewis	2	1	.	.	.	31
Capt Gilmore ⁴³	1	1	3	.	.	[48]
Capt Nawl	1	1	3	.	.	[388]
	18	12	40	3		
13						

⁴¹ The MS. of this return is damaged, but enough exists to show that it is a return of the number of troops, made during the encampment at Camp Union—therefore before Sept. 12. Charles Lewis marched with the van

CORNSTALK

[Abridged from account by Dr. Draper. 3Dxviii.]

The Indian name of Cornstalk was Keigh-tugh-qua, signifying a blade (or stalk) of the maize plant. Born in the Scioto towns of the Shawnee, his earliest recorded foray was that against Carr's Creek (1759), in what is now Rockbridge County. Pursuing frontiersmen rescued the prisoners, and recovered considerable booty. Again, in Pontiac's War, Cornstalk led a marauding party into the same neighborhood. Coming in the guise of friendship, the settlers at Muddy Creek in Greenbrier were first attacked; then the Clendennins, near Lewisburg—the party penetrating with fatal effect as far as Jackson's River and Carr's Creek.

Cornstalk was one of the hostages exacted by Bouquet in 1764, but escaped from Fort Pitt the following year. Nothing more is known of him until the opening of Dunmore's War, wherein, after failing to dissuade his tribesmen from joining battle, he led the native forces with vigor and audacity. After his treaty with Lord Dunmore, the chief proved his desire to maintain peace by frequent visits to Fort Randolph to restore stolen horses, and to renew friendship with the whites. It was in the capacity of mediator that he came thither in the autumn of 1777, when, detained as a hostage, he with his son and two companions was murdered by mutinous troops, whose officers tried in vain to prevent the outrage. In the excited state of public feeling, it was impossible to convict the perpetrators of this deed, although Preston

and Fleming made efforts in this direction, and attempted to pacify the Shawnee "on behalf of all the good people of Virginia" (Draper MSS., 22244).

Cornstalk was a large man, of commanding appearance, oratorical ability, and intellectual grasp. At Camp Charlotte, it was reported, "When he arose, he was in nowise confused or daunted, but spoke with distinct, audible voice, without stammering or repetition and with peculiar emphasis. His look while addressing Dunmore were truly grand and majestic, yet graceful and attractive." A monument to the chief has been erected in the court-house yard, of Point Pleasant.

CONTEMPORARY VERSE⁵⁰

[2S, book 4, 6C17; 3XX18.]⁵¹

Brave Lewis our Colonel, an officer bold,
At the mouth of Kanhawa did the Shawnees behold.
On the tenth of October, at the rising sun
The armies did meet and the battle begun.

⁵⁰The following collection of popular verse was culled by Dr. Draper from the memory-stores of several pioneers whom he visited during the first half of the nineteenth century. In our editing, no liberties have been taken with Dr. Draper's versions, save where there are variants; in such cases the best has been chosen. Compare with the following four fragments of verse, that found in Newell's Journal, pp. 361, 362, *ante*. The latter appears to be a camp-song, written to inspirit the loyalty and zeal of the army. The following are more in the nature of poetic chronicles, devised to perpetuate the battle, its participants, and the heroic deeds which it invoked.—ED.

⁵¹The following appears to have been the most popular of the songs, for there are three more or less complete versions among the Draper MSS., and one or two odd verses, connected with especial names. The first was received by Dr. Draper in 1845, from Mrs. Lydia Cruger (born 1766), daughter of Capt.